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Some Minor Languages of Luzon.—By 1st Lieutenant WILLIAM E. W. MACKINLAY, 1st Cavalry, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

It is not contemplated here to give more than a sketch of some of the minor languages of Luzon, with only a mention of others. The field is so extensive that an article could well be devoted to each of the five civilized non-Tagalog tongues, and another to the dialects of the uncivilized tribes of the north.

The first language to which attention is invited is the Ilocano. Spoken by the most industrious, reliable and promising race in the Philippines, as far as the lower classes are concerned, it bears in its structure and vocabulary, even to its intonation and accent, the hallmark of the people who speak it. It is the only language of the Philippines which has been carried beyond its original habitat within historic times, and bids fair to supplant Pangasinán, its neighbor to the south, as it has already displaced Ibanag in parts of the provinces of Cagayán and Isabel. This spreading has all been due to the working classes, known as the "tao" class to Americans and in Ilocano as "cailian," or tribute-payers, in contradistinction to the Spanish-speaking, indolent upper class, who call themselves the "babaenang" (nobility), and who are known to Americans as the "principalia," and less politely as the "shoe-hombres." Of the working classes, nearly one thousand have enlisted in the Philippine Scouts, which organization is a part of the United States Army, and several hundred more have been enrolled in the Constabulary or Military Police of the Archipelago. The Ilocanos make good, steady, reliable soldiers, and like all the natives of the Islands are clean, obedient, and brave when properly led. Some few of the wild tribes adjoining the Ilocanos on the east have also been enlisted and mixed with Ilocanos. These soldiers are mainly serving in the Tagalog region, and compose thirteen companies, numbered from the 12th to the 24th. Their officers are Americans, except Lt. Patajo, Ilocano. There are five Ilocano provincial governors, while in the two mountain provinces, where the Ilocanos form the town population and the Igorrotes

the country people, American governors have been chosen. Outlaw bands are unknown in the Ilocano region, and if the common people are let alone by upper class agitators, who live by their wits, there will be no serious disturbances reported from the Ilocan provinces. The history of the recent outbreak at Vigan, due to Tagálog intrigue, represented by Artemio Ricarte, confirms this assertion.

Philologically, the Ilocano tongue seems nearest to Pangasinán, which in its turn is closely allied to Pampango, adjoining it on the south. It has also a certain affinity with Ibanag, spoken on the Rio Grande de Cagayán, known anciently as the Banag. There is a much greater resemblance between these four languages than any has with Tagálog, although Pampango has borrowed many words from its more vigorous southern neighbor. As with all the Philippine tongues, "e" and "i," and "o" and "u" are almost interchangeable in Ilocano, although "i" and "o" seem to be preferred. The native consonants are: b, d, hard g, hard c, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, ua (w), and consonant y, together with the peculiar guttural-nasal ṅ. H does not exist in true Ilocano words. Other sounds, such as ch, f, h, and v, have been taken from Spanish, and now the school-children are struggling with the sounds, difficult to them, of short e, the two sounds of th, sh, and others which they encounter in the English now being taught.

A striking characteristic of Ilocano is the prevalence of t and d, and the absence of the euphonic system of ties with ng, which makes Tagálog so harmonious. Some expressions will show this clearly: "Good morning," Iloc. "Naimbag a aldao;" Tag. "Magandang arao." "What is your name," Iloc. "Asin ti nagan mo?" Tag. "Sino ang pangalan mo?" Bicol. "Si isay an ḡnaran mo?" "Asin" is used only for persons; for animals and things "ania" is used: e. g., "ania ti nagan ti asom": "what do you call the dog?"

Ilocano has received little or no study from philologists of note. Isabelo de los Reyes, an Ilocano, did some good work upon the language prior to 1896, but since that time has devoted his attention to political agitation. For some time he published a paper in Manila called "El Ilocano." There is practically no literature except a few romances of the class banished from European literature by Don Quijote, and some lives of saints

published by the Augustine friars. This order was in charge of the Ilocano provinces from 1575 to 1898, and the two current grammars of the language are by members of that order. A small English-Ilocano vocabulary was published for the use of the schools by Wm. Edmonds of Laoag, Ilocos Norte, in 1902, and it is understood that he is now working upon an English-Ilocano grammar and dictionary.

The Ilocano-speaking population cannot be far from 400,000. Of these, twenty-five thousand may be able to understand a little Spanish, and a couple of thousand of the younger ones a little English. This however, is so little, that the upper Spanish-speaking aristocracy, numbering possibly 5000 in all, have the lower classes practically at their mercy, especially in regulating the communication between them and the American rulers. The result can be imagined.

The Ilocano region embraces the provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and Union. Ilocano is the town language in Abra, Lepanto-Bontoc and Benguet, a large part of Pangasinán and Zambales, and parts of Cagayán and Isabela. The two latter regions are separated from the other by the mountain tribes of the extreme north of Luzon, known as Apayaos, Adangs, Tinguianes, Guinaanes, and Igorrotes.

The language of many of these mountain tribes, especially that of the Adangs, Apayaos and Tinguianes, seems to differ little from Ilocano.

So little has ever been written about these tongues from actual observation that much discussion would be unprofitable, if not misleading. These tribes include perhaps from fifty to seventy-five thousand inhabitants, but the new census may give better statistics to work upon. The Guinaanes and some of the Igorrotes are wild and ferocious, but a tribe allied in language to the former, the Tinguianes, has settled in Abra and is quite pacific. The tribe numbers about 10,000, and it is the impression of those who have seen both, that they are closely related to the Apayaos of Ilocos Norte. Many Tinguian words are the same as those in Ilocano, and even the manner of forming the verbal tenses is the same. These observations upon the Tinguianes are at first hand.

Ibanag, meaning the dwellers upon the Banag, is quite closely related to Ilocano, but differs from all other civilized tongues of Luzon in possessing both *f* and *v*. "Fulan" is "moon," con-

trasting with "bulan" in the other languages of the group and Bicol, and with "bouan" in Tagalog. "Vagui" is "brother" (or sister), being quite different from Tag. "capatid," Iloc. "cabsat," and Bicol "tugan." "Good morning" is "mapia n`a umma" and singular to say, "mapia" is "good" in the Maguin-danao-Moro of Mindanao. No such form occurs in the languages between. It may be that this word was learned from a Moro band which was sent to Cagayán many years ago, and has returned to the south since the American occupation. "House" is "balay," practically the same as the corresponding word in Pangasinán, Ilocano, Pampango and mountain Bicol. The low-land Bicol uses the word "harong." The Tag. is "báhay." "Danum" is water in all the Northern dialects, "túbig" in Tag., Bicol, and Bisay. This shortens to "ig" in Mindanao Moro, and changes to "äyer" in Malay. But in Malagasy it is "ranu," and it is "wai" in various Polynesian dialects. "Egg" is "iluc" in Tag.; in Iloc. and Bis., "itlog;" in Pamp. "ibon;" in Bicol "sugoc." "Ibon" is "bird" in Tag., and a fowl is "manuc" everywhere in Luzon. "Manuc" is a bird in Malay, while a fowl is "ayam." This is the Bicol word for dog, while among the Tinguianes the term means any household animal tied under the house.

There are two Cagayán companies, the 25th and 26th. The race numbers over 100,000.

Pangasinán is spoken only in a part of that province and Zambales. It is constantly losing ground before the more vigorous Ilocano. No companies of this race are recruited for the service. Natives of other races claim that this tongue is the most difficult to speak in the Archipelago. It abounds in words terminating in "d." There may be 200,000 of this race.

Pampango is spoken in the province of Pampanga and part of Tarlac. It is distinguished by the substitution of "u" where Tag. has "o." The Macabebes, who have a settlement of some 20,000 in Pampanga, speak this language, with a curious Japanese intonation, and some Japanese words. Thus, "Nan nu?" "what is it?" is utterly unlike the Tag. "Ano?," and is like the Nagasaki dialect, in which this phrase is "Nan no?" clearly different from Tokio "Nan desu ka?" This is undoubtedly due to the settlement of Japanese Christians between 1650 and 1700 in Pampanga, still shown in the oblique Macabebe eye. It would be hard to distinguish a Macabebe and a Japanese

company, if dressed alike. This is a personal observation at first hand.

The 1st to 11th Companies of Scouts are Macabebes, and have done gallant service. The men are dashing, brave and clean, and will follow their officers anywhere. All the officers are Americans.

Tagalog, spoken by nearly a million and a half people in Manila and the eight provinces adjacent thereto, as well as in several islands and parts of provinces, differs much from the other languages of Luzon, and seems in many ways to be more allied to Joloano Moro than to any other tongue of the Philippines. It is more euphonic, and has changed primitive "r" to "l" in many cases, probably on account of the large admixture of Chinese blood for the last five or six centuries. For example, the word "daraga," which means a girl in several dialects, is "dalaga" in Tag. Similarly, the Arabic word "surat," meaning a writing in the Philippines, has been changed to "sulat," in Tag.

Only three Tagalog companies have been enlisted, the well known instability of the race preventing the arming of a very large number. These three companies, however, have been carefully selected, and have done well.

The Bicol tongue, which is spoken by over 300,000 people in the three southern provinces of Luzon, Ambos Camarines, Albay, and Sorsogon, is but the most northern dialect of Bisayan. The people were known in ancient times as the Ibalones, and now take their names from the river Bicol. They are a quiet, peaceful people as a rule, and have two companies in the Scouts. There are two well defined dialects; that spoken in the lowland districts, and that spoken in the hill country around Mt. Isarog, Mt. Iriga, Mt. Buhi, and the great volcano of Mayon. Only one sentence will be here given of Bicol. "Good morning" is "marahay na aldao," and it will be seen at a glance that it is the same as the Bisayan "ma-ayon adlao." Two Spanish grammars exist of Bicol, and the writer has almost completed an English-Bicol vocabulary and phrase book.

Bisayan¹ will not be touched upon in this article, nor the many dialects of Mindanao and Joló.

¹ Bisayan is officially spelled Visayan in the government service in the Philippines, after the Spanish custom. The natives pronounce the initial as a *b*.